1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

INTRODUCTION

Territory

The territory of the Havasupai in north-central Arizona comprises the broad drainage area of Cataract Canyon and the bottom of that gorge itself. From the viewpoint of the Havasupai village in the canyon bottom, this drainage area is a high plateau. It extends from the east where the benches of Coconino Basin give toward the Little Colorado River, to the Aubrey Cliffs on the west, these marking the descent toward the Colorado River. The northern edge of the area is the rim and the broken ledges of the Grand Canyon: the southern limit is marked by the heights of the San Francisco Peaks and Bill Williams Mountain, beyond which the country falls away to the south. This forms a winter range some ninety miles by seventy-five.

Cataract Canyon cuts across this plateau from Bill Williams Mountain on the south to the Grand Canyon. Near its northern end it is, like the Grand Canyon, a double gorge; first a mile wide canyon through the white limestone some twenty-five hundred feet deep, and then a narrower gorge three to five hundred feet deep, winding through the red sandstone in the bottom. The Havasupai village is located about six miles from the mouth of Cataract Canyon at the widest point in its bed where it is a quarter mile across. The bottom lands between the talus slopes are, however, only five hundred acres in extent. In effect the village is shut in on all sides by towering cliffs which can be scaled in but a few places. Northward, the canyon drops away by a series of nearly impassable falls to join the Grand Canyon. Beyond that lies mile on mile of broken ledge and mountain to the northern rim of the Grand Canyon. Egress to the south is by way of its tortuous ramified arms: Hualapai Canyon to the west, Lee Canyon to the east, and several more, Moqui Trail Canyon among them, further north. In effect, traveling to the north is next to impossible, and to the plateau above is so difficult as to make the isolation quite complete.

Several hundred yards above the village, Cataract Creek bursts from the bed of the canyon, gathers rapidly in volume, and rushes as a narrow erratic stream for two and a half miles to plunge in three great falls to the Colorado. This section is an oasis: irrigated fields and orchards stretch between the talus slopes; the stream is bordered by a dense growth of willows and cottonwoods; mesquite and other bushes cover the slopes. The red sandstone benches above this are arid except for a few springs, as is the bed of the canyon above the village. Here grow

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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133 mescal, yucca, and a sparse scrub growth. Still higher is the plateau:
137 at the lower elevations this is covered with sagebrush, chamisa, etc.; at a higher level grow juniper, cedar, and pifion trees; and at the Grand Canyon rim and toward the mountains are pines, spruce, and fir. Water is very scarce on the plateau; springs are found chiefly near the mountains, elsewhere the surface run-off of summer rains and melting snows may be caught behind little dams.

[102]
[131]

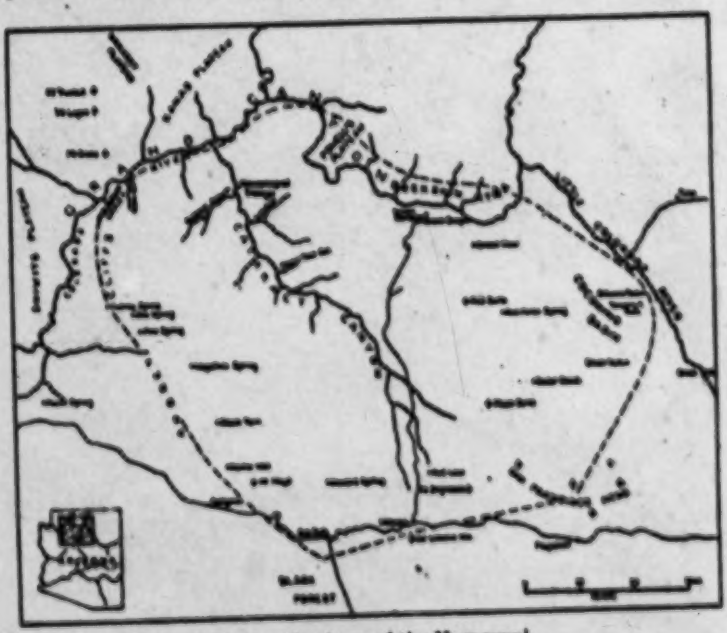

Fig. 1. Territory of the Havasupai.

132 Precipitation is confined to two periods, the heavy summer rains (July to early October) and the winter snowfall (December and January). Its distribution varies from five to fifteen inches per annum over the greater part of the range to a maximum of twenty-five inches near the mountains in the south. The rains are sudden and torrential and the
132 run-off excessive, the accumulated waters rushing into the lower canyon
731 and producing dangerous flood conditions. I witnessed an unheralded cloudburst in August, 1918, when all the heights spurted torrents upon the village below. Everyone fled to the cliffs; the swollen creek swept

[text continues on p. 94]

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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132 731 away houses and destroyed fields. For a week, during which further storms threatened, no one made more than trifling efforts to restore things to their former condition. The severest flood of recent years was that of January, 1911, when a heavy rain brought down the accumulated snows from the plateau, filling the canyon bed quite to the talus slopes, tearing away a third of the field area, and on its subsidence leaving the creek in a new location.

132 The prevailing winds are from the southwest. These blow hardest and are most annoying in the spring, on account of dust storms. The temperature on the plateau varies from a midwinter mean of 30° F. to 70° F. in midsummer; that in the canyon is about ten degrees higher the year round. There is sometimes as much as a foot of snow in the canyon bottom, yet snowfalls are infrequent. Despite the fact that it is 361 warmer in the canyon, the Havasupai prefer to spend the winter on the plateau, partly because it is less humid there, but rather more because there is an adequate supply of good firewood, and chiefly because their interest lies in the hunting, seed gathering, and visiting activities of this season.

Beside the village in Cataract Canyon, the Indian Gardens (*hdtodzvhâ'*, coyote tail?) on Bright Angel trail below Grand Canyon 131 station, and perhaps some similar farm lands elsewhere, as at Prospect Valley, the Havasupai consider a large section of the plateau as their proper range. Its limits are approximately as follows. On the north, the benches on the south side of the Grand Canyon, the Buckskin Mountains, and Powell's Plateau: on the east, perhaps Coconino Basin and the plateau west of it; Hawaigâtî'dâ, a spring perhaps east of Black Tank, and Pôkâdespai'îvâ, near Hull Spring (Cedar Ranch) north of the San Francisco peaks, with the whole northern and western slopes of those mountains: on the south, Red Lake at the head of Cataract Canyon, Black (or Kisaha) tank (*hdwaigîvîlâ'*) north of Seligman, Howard Spring (*nalîsdhâ*), and at least in recent times they hunted in the vicinity of Ash Fork and perhaps north of the Black Forest. The limits on the west are more difficult to define since they commonly occupied [101] certain localities together with the Walapai, for example, Pine Spring (*hakdad*, where there were also Paiute living with them about 1860), and Mohe Canyon at the northern end of the Aubrey Cliffs. Beyond these points the Havasupai consider themselves well out of their own territory. Prospect Valley and Pine Spring formerly belonged to the Havasupai alone, the Walapai subsequently crowding them out.

101 It would seem that beyond this range, at least on all save the western side, there was considerable unoccupied territory. Paiute settlements

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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lay beyond the Grand Canyon, both east of the Uinkaret Mountains and in the Kanab district. The intervening territory is so rugged and the Colorado so difficult to cross that intercourse was at a minimum. The Paiute did cross to the south side, however, in Walapai territory and to the east, where they moved up the Little Colorado. There were no permanent habitations in the vicinity of the Little Colorado (at least as far up as the falls). The Navaho and Hopi settlements are referred to as located at or near Oraibi and the Moenkopie Wash. Navaho and Hopi were encountered in this region, however, and occasionally Paiute, who, for instance, were found on the western side of the river in the vicinity of Coconino Basin about 1855.

There is some question as to how early the Navaho appeared west of the Hopi pueblos. A circumstantial account indicates that the Havasupai met them for the first time about 1864. They were encamped on the plateau above the Coconino Basin, and told of other camps on both sides of the Little Colorado, and from the Grand Canyon rim to the San Francisco peaks. They were not acquainted with each other's language; hence, intercourse was carried on by signs and in the Hopi tongue. The Navaho asserted that they were half of a group living far east of Oraibi and had fled to escape capture by the whites. On the other hand, one Navaho insisted that the Havasupai had raided his camp in the Moenkopie district. This incident coincides exactly with the recorded activities of Kit Carson. In 1863 he invaded the Navaho country in New Mexico, capturing some 6000, the greater part of the tribe, and moving them to the Bosque Redondo, where they were released in 1867.[1]

It is also evident that there was a considerable stretch of unoccupied territory along the present line of the Santa Fé Railroad. References to the Yavapai and Apache clearly indicate that their camps were well down on the headwaters of the Verde River and its tributaries. The notion has gained currency, however, that the Havasupai once lived about the San Francisco Mountains and along the adjacent sections of the Little Colorado—in fact, that they were found there by the railroad explorers of the last century. For example, Hrdlička observes that

> according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more properly a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito east of the San Francisco mountains, where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former home of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther east, they abandoned these villages and took

[1] Handbook of American Indians, II, 41; Lummis, The Memories, 84 et seq. In 1826 Pattie reached "the chief village of the Mohahaves" four days travel up the San Juan River, this was "distant 50 miles from the Rio del Norte." (Pattie, Personal Narrative, 130, 141.)

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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refuge in the San Francisco mountains, subsequently leaving these for their present abodes. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on the upper Rio Verde, near the northern edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy of them.[1]

It is true that the Indians refer, in a general way to the nearby ruins as theirs, but what they mean is that those structures were built by the Ikhayápt, their mythological predecessors.

I have examined the reports of the railroad explorers for more tangible evidence. It seems best to give all the references to Indians in the whole district from the crossing of the Little Colorado westward to the Walapai country. At an early date (1604) Oñate crossed this country but found no one from the Hopi to the vicinity of Prescott.[2] Sitgreaves reports that in October, 1851, Leroux found "a large encampment of Yampai or Tonto Indians, on the edge of a deep ravine, through which ran a stream, which he supposed to be the headwaters of the San Francisco" (i.e., the Verde River); this was on the eastern side of the San Francisco Mountains. He did not speak with them. Others, who fled, were found on the northwest slope. The next reference is to a party of Indians discovered somewhere west of the Piesaho or at Yampai Canyon; that is, in the Walapai country. Leroux talked with the Yampai and with one called a "Cojnino" (others were seen) at the source of Yampai Creek (Yampai or Truxton Canyons).[3] In the winter of 1853–54 Whipple noted that "Cosninos are said to roam from Sierra Mogoyon to the San Francisco [Rio Verde or the peaks?], and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. Their number has been estimated by trappers at ten thousand—probably a great exaggeration."[4] While he found traces of Indians, he did not see any. Beale made two trips across this country. He refers to the Cosnurio caves, named for the Indians who were said to occupy them. In September 1857 he saw fresh Indians tracks at the eastern foot of the San Francisco Mountains; the next signs were encountered at a point perhaps west of Mount Floyd and deserted huts were found at a locality probably north of the Juniper Mountains. He discovered Indian fields at the head of Yampai Creek (?), which he called a Cosnino camp, and Indians and their camps were seen at the mouth of Truxton Canyon (?).[5] It will be noted that he found no traces between the peaks and Mount Floyd; that he saw no Indians after the Little

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 338. Compare *Annual Report of Smithsonian Institution for 1896*, I, 64.

[2] Bandelier, (a), I, 109.

[3] Sitgreaves, 16; (1, 14, 15, 16; Cremony, 222.

[4] Whipple, 62. He saw Yavapai in the western Aquarius Mountains, whence they were said to range to the junction of the Rio Virgen with the Colorado.

[5] Beale, 46, 48, 54, 55, 57, 60, 70.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Colorado crossing until he reached Yampai Creek in Walapai territory, and that he talked with none. On his eastward trip, he was attacked at Truxton Spring or somewhat farther east. Indians were seen in the vicinity of the Coconino caves, and fresh trails were found just west of the Little Colorado.[1] That is, again he saw no Indians between Yampai Canyon and this river. Ives' party visited Cataract Canyon in 1858; his map No. 2 shows a "Yampai Village" there. On his eastward trip in March and April of that year he found a few Hualpais in the vicinity of Truxton Spring; huts and Indians on the trail leading from a point west of Peach Spring toward Diamond Creek; and saw Hualpais at the Creek. Egloffstein found "Yampais" who "did not differ much from the Hualpais in general appearance" at the present village in Cataract Canyon. Ives also found a deserted village, with huts resembling those in Cataract Canyon, at a point on the plateau far north of Pine Spring, probably above Prospect Valley.[2] But he saw no Indians along the entire route from Pine Spring south to Mount Floyd and eastward by Bill Williams Mountain to the San Francisco mountains and beyond to the river.

The upshot of all this is that not one of these explorers establishes the existence of settlements anywhere along this line, although they passed in autumn and spring, the most favorable time to meet even ranging Havasupai. Their identifications are based on hearsay from their guides, and these—Leroux was probably as competent as any—refer to the Indians of the region indifferently as Yampai, Tonto, or Coconino. Add to this that my informants, who were boys at this time, never once referred to occupation of this region except in the mythological migration period, and that Garcés made the difficult descent into Cataract Canyon in 1776 when he would surely have pursued the direct route from the Walapai to the Hopi villages had there been settlements on it.

Linguistic and Other Relations

Linguistically the Havasupai are closely related to the neighboring Walapai. The dialectic difference is slight. These two are classed by Harrington,[3] together with the Yavapai and Tonto, as the eastern division of the Yuman stock.

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[1] Ibid, 78, 82, 83. Incidentally, I was interested in discovering what impression Beale's descriptions had made on the Indians. My Havasupai informants had never heard of them, although the Walapai knew them, by Beale's account.

[2] Ives, 97, 100, 101, 108, 110. The name Yampai is employed, as by Garcés, for any indifferent group of central Arizona.

[3] *Yuma Account of Origins*, 324. Some lexical material collected by Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson is given by Gatschet, (n. s).

3:James T-5 (ca. 1909) 1913
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

231 Chickapanagio. This includes the south banks of the
423 Grand Canyon towards the Little Colorado River and including the Mystic Spring, the Bright Angel, the Grand View, Hance's old and the Red Canyon Trails, in the neighborhood of which, for centuries, the Havasupais have been descending. Indeed, it was the Havasupais who made the "Indian Gardens" that are so charming a feature of the Bright Angel Trail. Sinyela has the upper part of Havasu Canyon reaching to Ibas's camp at the Caves, named by the Havasupais Wai-a-mel. Uta and Waluthama have the lower portion of Havasu Canyon, around to the head of Beaver Canyon and all the territory on the south side as far as Hack-a-tai-a—the Colorado River.

Thus there are no disputes arising over the wrongful
577 pasturage of stock, as each Indian regards himself as
578 bound by the strictest ties of honor not to deviate from these established and long-observed boundaries.

As I have before stated, the Havasupais at one time
131 owned the whole of the Kohonino Forest region and
423 also the trails into Hack-a-tai-a (the Grand Canyon). From time immemorial they have hunted from Havasu (Cataract) Canyon to the Little Colorado, and, of course, have had access to the water pockets, or rock tanks, in which rain water accumulates all along this dry and springless region. In talking with one of the In-
648 dians recently he asked me if the Great Father at Washington could do nothing for him and his people so that they might still continue to use the water pockets of their ancestral hunting-ground. He said, "You sabe Ha-ha-poo-ha (Rain Tank) and Ha-wai-i-tha-qual-ga (Rowe's Well) and Ha-ga-tha-wa-di-a (the water hole near Hance's Camp) and Ha-ha-i-ga-sa-jul-ga (Red

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. [121]

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). [131]

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. [133]

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

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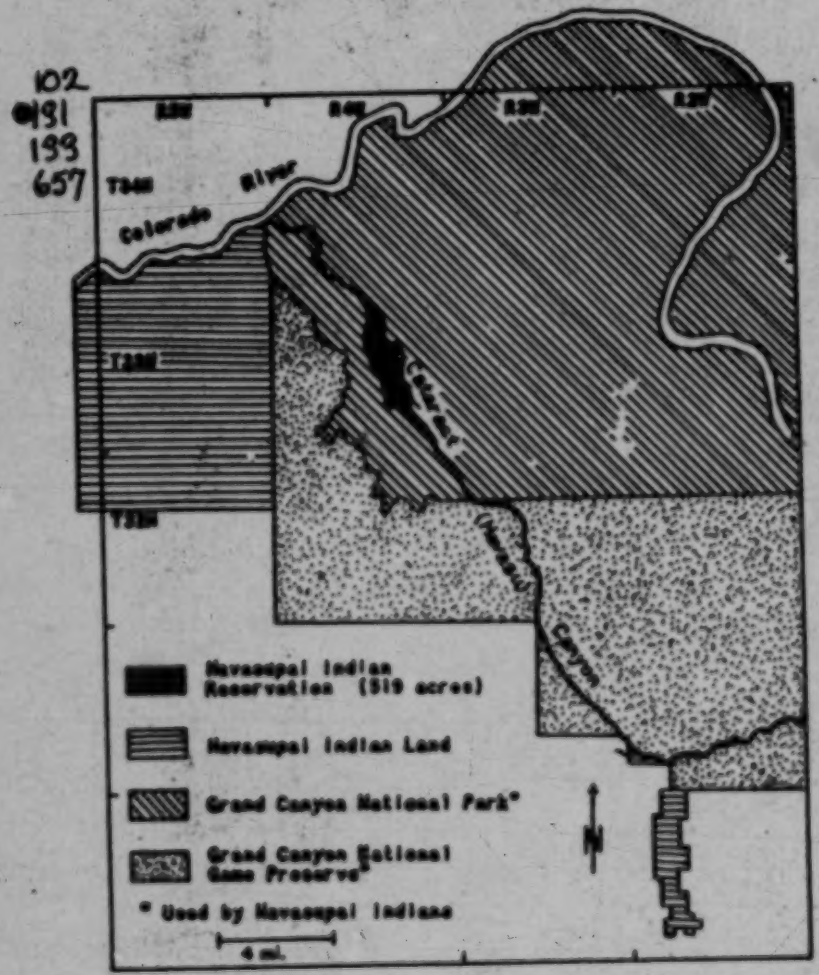

Fig. 3. Havasupai Indian Reservation and other lands in relation to National Park and National Game Preserve boundaries.

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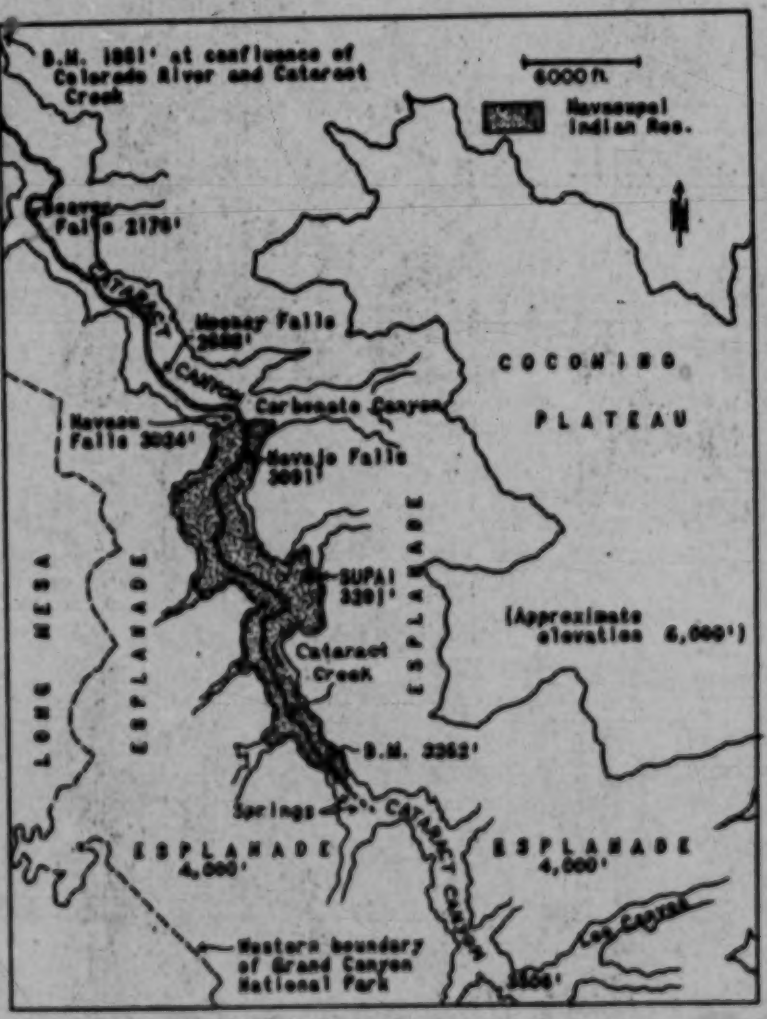

Fig. 4. Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography of Cataract (Havasu) Canyon, showing elevations from the Coconino Plateau to the Colorado River.

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Fig. 5. Sketch showing Havasupai Indian Reservation in relation to topography.

plums, almonds, and pomegranates, there being only a few trees of the latter three kinds. 245 177

Whiting lists the following aboriginal cultivated plants: corn, pumpkin, squash, Hopi sunflower, three varieties of beans (tepary, kidney, and lima), cotton, and gourds. Introduced plants include peach, pear, plum, apricot, fig, apple and walnut trees, watermelons, cantaloupes, blackeyed peas, devil's claw and alfalfa. Plants introduced, but rejected or used very little, are onions, chilies, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, peas, wheat, and cherry and almond trees (Whiting n. d., 60). 241 177

Spier (1928, 108) reported antelope to be the most plentiful large game animal, with mountain sheep and deer also in good supply. Mountain lions were killed occasionally, but the meat was generally abhorred. Smaller game included cottontails, jackrabbits, squirrels, and various kinds of birds. McGregor (1951, 17) reports predators now present on the plateau are lions bobcats, coyotes, badgers, and probably foxes. The Havasupai are now restricted to hunting deer and antelope only in the legal season. Rabbits are an occasional item in the daily fare, but most meat is obtained by purchase from a store or by butchering Havasupai-owned beef. The Havasupai did not eat fish, and, although Havasu Creek has been stocked several times, few Havasupai will eat fish even today. Apparently, the next storm following introduction of fish kills them or washes them down to the Colorado River. 136 262 [224]

The Reservation and Its Administration

The original Havasupai Reservation, established in 1880, consisted of an area 5 mi. wide by 12 mi. long lying on the floor of Cataract Canyon and the adjacent Esplanade. In 1882, the reservation area was reduced to 518.6 acres located entirely within the confines of Cataract Canyon. In 1940, four sections of land on the plateau, outside the National Forest boundaries, were added to the reservation to give the Havasupai water rights on various springs used by their stock. Horses and cattle owned by the Havasupai graze in the Grand Canyon National Park, which completely encompasses the reservation proper, and also on National Forest lands adjoining Grand Canyon National Park to the west and south (Ladd, personal communication, 1952). 657 131 [423] [231]

Government Services

The Office of Indian Affairs administrative headquarters, located almost 100 mi. away at Valentine, Arizona, is the Truxton Canyon sub-agency, which also serves the Walapai, Yavapai, and Camp Verde Apache. A resident agent at Supai acts in an advisory capacity to the tribe and is in charge of government-owned property on the reservation. A sub-agency was first established in Cataract Canyon about 1885 (Whiting n. d., 21). 657

311 were inherited. The Esplanade seems to have been used with increasing
[231] frequency after the Havasupai acquired horses in some numbers. Even to-
day, with cultivated alfalfa, only a few horses can be kept in the canyon.
Owners of horses and cattle pasture their animals on range lands set aside
for that purpose on the plateau. However, the Esplanade, located nearer
[131] Supai, and eroded into a series of blocks by ravines which can be crossed
only at their upper ends near the base of the Whitewall, made convenient
pasture which required no fencing and thus could be utilized individually.

Economic Transition

648 Early Havasupai contacts with the white man were infrequent and made
little or no impact upon Havasupai economy for almost 100 years. Spier
(1928, 83) reports that the Havasupai were discovered by Padre Francisco
Garcés, who spent a few days in Cataract Canyon in 1776. Only two or three
parties of white men made face to face contact with the tribe during the fol-
lowing century. Whiting (n. d., 19) considers the few Spanish influences
which filtered to the Havasupai to have been passed primarily along estab-
lished prehistoric trade routes, especially the one between the Hopi and the
Havasupai. Cessation of Spanish activity was followed about 1830 by entrance
of American trappers, and a little later by American exploratory expeditions
into the area.

The first significant contact between Havasupai and white Americans
involved prospectors and miners who entered Cataract Canyon following the
1863 discovery of gold in the Prescott area. By 1880, a lead deposit had
been located below Havasupai farm lands in the vicinity of the waterfalls.
[135] Mining activity so near the agricultural area posed a threat to Havasupai
economy, and quick action by military authorities brought about establish-
ment of a reservation that same year (Whiting, n. d., 20). The initial
mining operation failed because of transportation difficulties, but this did
not mark the end of prospecting or mining attempts in Cataract Canyon.

On the plateau, the Havasupai were being squeezed in a pincers be-
tween the Walapai on the west, who had forced them from Mono Canyon and
adjoining lands, and the Navaho on the east, who were invading the area
between the Hopi mesas and the Havasupai camps. For a time, the Walapai
and Navaho tribes had served as buffer groups between the Havasupai and
direct white pressure, but eventually cattlemen moved into the Havasupai
plateau range. Tourist interest in Grand Canyon furnished another pressure
[657] point (Whiting, n. d., 20). Establishment of a subagency and a day school
in Cataract Canyon in 1893 marked the beginning of a period of increased
isolation for the tribe. Families were induced to remain in the canyon while
their children attended school. (Informants state that for a number of years
the school year included the summer months, with a recess during the cold-
est winter months.)

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilised or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1939 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [174]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chloride. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 135

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [174]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 175 648

7:Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

American Anthropologist
NEW SERIES

Vol. 31 APRIL-JUNE, 1929 No. 2

PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

By LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

THE HAVASUPAIS, PEOPLE OF CATARACT CANYON[1]

Richard Emerick

The American Southwest is known the world over for its unique, colorful, almost frightening beauty and there is no more awe-inspiring part of it than the Grand Canyon country in northern Arizona. Here, in the past ten million years or so, the Colorado River and some of its tributaries have carved a mile-deep wonderland into the Kaibab Plateau. The place is a network of canyons with the majestic Grand Canyon itself at its center. Nearly all of these gorges are being cut by intermittent streams born of the melting snows and summer cloudbursts. Therefore, throughout most of the year the floors of nearly all of them are dry and desert-like. One of these chasms, however, is richly green, for through it, from an inexhaustible source, flows a small but bounteous stream. This oasis is called Cataract Canyon and it has been the home of the Havasupai Indians for hundreds of years.

In historic times, at least, the Havasupais have certainly lived where they do now—in and around Cataract Canyon. The early Spanish records make frequent reference to such people as the Coninas, Cosninos and Coconinos living in this same region. There is every reason to believe that many of these references, by names which are corruptions of a Hopi expression for their western neighbors, were to the Havasupais. The legends of these people, when correlated with what is known of the pre-Columbian history of the southwest, indicates that they have inhabited the Grand Canyon country since perhaps as early as 800 A.D.

The first positive record of the Havasupais was made by the Franciscan missionary, Padre Francisco Tomas Garces, who, on June 20th, 1776, was guided into Cataract Canyon by a party of Walapais. His diary tells us that the people he found there were extremely friendly and, in fact, they attended him so royally and fed him so well that he remained five days.

[1] I wish to extend my thanks to the Anthropology Department of the University of Pennsylvania for financial assistance with research in the summer of 1953.

125 days. The good Padre's brief, but vivid, account of his passage into the
487 canyon from the plateau above anticipates most of the subsequent descriptions of this journey, for it presents a picture of incredibly tortuous trails hanging over horrible abysses. Few visitors to Cataract Canyon have been willing to confess that they did not risk their lives getting there. It is true that some three thousand feet of rock walls surround the canyon floor, but the trails, though rough, are adequate for foot and horse travel. Passing in and out of the canyon is no lark to be sure, but neither is it as grueling an experience as it has often been pictured. It is far more fatiguing than frightening.

131 Throughout the literature on Cataract Canyon, especially that of a more
487 popular nature, the isolation of this place is always emphasized. It may seem so to outsiders, but not to those who live here, for there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the village in the canyon called Supai. In aboriginal times, of course, they needed to be suitable only for foot travel, but, since white contact, seven of them have been modified for horse trails. They range in length from eight to fifty miles. Not all of them are constantly maintained, but the Indians are never limited only to the two trails by which most of the outsiders enter and leave. The foot trails are all relatively short, the longest being only three and one-half miles. All of them, however, begin from points on the plateau which are extremely difficult to reach by automobile and are, therefore, restricted to occasional use by the Indians only.

487 The visitor today may approach Cataract Canyon either from Grand Canyon or from Peach Springs on the Walapai Reservation. Grand Canyon may be reached by railroad and Highway 66 passes through Peach Springs. At Grand Canyon one may get a ride with the Indian mailman to Topacoba Hilltop over a road that is hardly a road at all. Twice a week mail is taken by truck from the Grand Canyon post office to Hilltop where it is exchanged for mail coming from Supai. At Hilltop the letters and packages (and visitors, unless they choose to walk) are loaded upon horses and mules. The animals are then turned loose and they dutifully follow the fourteen-mile trail to the village below.

If one chooses to take the Peach Springs route, it is over sixty miles from this little town to Walapai Hilltop, the other point on the rim of the canyon where it is necessary to trade wheels for hoofs. The road

10:Henshaw E-4 (no date)1959
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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Havasupai ('blue-green water people').
A small isolated tribe of the Yuman stock

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(the nucleus of which is believed to have descended from the Walapai) who occupy Cataract canyon of the Rio Colorado in s.

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w. Arizona. Whipple (Pac. R. R. Rep., III, pt. i, 92, 1856) was informed in 1860 that the "Cosninos" roamed from the

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131 Sierra Mogollon to the San Francisco mts. and along the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. The tribe is a peculiarly interesting one, since of all the Yuman tribes it is the only one which has developed or borrowed a culture similar to, 173 though less advanced, than that of the Pueblo peoples; indeed, according to tradition, the Havasupai (or more probably a Pueblo clan or tribe that became incorporated with them) formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado Chiquito n. of the San Francisco mts., where ruins were pointed out to Powell by a Havasupai chief as the former homes of his people. As the result of war with tribes farther n., they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mts., subsequently leaving these for their present abode. In this connection it is of interest to note that the Cosnino caves on [172] the upper Rio Verde, near the n. edge of Tonto basin, central Arizona, were named from this tribe, because of their supposed early occupancy by them. Their present 361 village, composed of temporary cabins or 342 shelters of wattled canes and branches 131 and earth in summer, and of the natural caves and crevices in winter, is situated 115 m. n. of Prescott and 7 m. s. of the Grand canyon. The Havasupai 142 are well formed, though of medium stature. They are skilled in the manufacture and use of implements, and 105 especially in preparing raw material, li e buckskin. The men are expert hunters, the women adept in the manufacture of baskets which, when lined with clay, serve also as cooking utensils. Like the other Yuman tribes, until affected by white influences during recent years, their clothing consisted chiefly of deerskin and, for the sake of ornament, both men and women painted their faces with thick, smooth coatings of fine red ocher or blue paint prepared from wild indigo; tattooing and scarification for ornament were also sometimes practised. In summer they subsist chiefly on corn, calabashes, sunflower seeds, melons, peaches, and apricots, which they cultivate by means of irrigation, and also the wild datila and mescal, in winter principally upon the flesh of game, which they hunt in the surrounding uplands and mountains. While a strictly sedentary people, they are unskilled in the manufacture of earthenware and obtain their more modern implements and utensils, except basketry, by barter with the Hopi, with which people they seem always to have had closer affiliation than with their Yuman kindred. Their weapons in war and the chase were rude clubs and pikes of hard wood, bows and arrows, and, formerly, slings; but firearms have practically replaced these more

11: Shufeldt D-4 (no date) 1892
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE HAVESU-PAI INDIANS.

BY

R. W. SHUFELDT, M. D.

(With Plates XXV, XXVI.)

Several years ago when the writer had the opportunity of studying some of the tribes of our Indians in the southwest, especially those found in northwestern New Mexico and over the adjacent boundary of Arizona, he met with Mr. Benj. Wittick, formerly a photographer in the employ of the U. S. Geological Survey, who was making a collection of photographs of the Indians of that region. He had visited that least known tribe of Arizona Indians, the Havesu-pai, of the so-called Su-pai Cañon, and had obtained some excellent pictures of them. I was so fortunate as to secure prints of Mr. Wittick's photographs of that race. As we have no good illustrations of those people that I am aware of, it is hoped that the two plates we are enabled to reproduce here of them will be found useful to the anthropologist.

In every sense of the word the Havesu-pais are a dying race. There is but a remnant of them now in existence; I have heard it said, less than two hundred. They exist in one of the grandest cañons in all Arizona, living in their primitive lodges along the bank of the stream that passes through it. Upon looking up such matter as had been written upon this departing tribe of Indians, I found it to be exceeding meager; indeed there is little or nothing known about them. From the very inaccessible place of their abode they have been very rarely seen, and only on few occasions by scientific men. Mr. Albert S. Gatschet of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution confirmed this opinion, and said that those Indians were known in former times by the name of "Koxoninos," or "Cochnichnos," but that they were the "Cosninos" of the Moquis of Arizona. Properly they should be known by the name that the Yumas call them, that is the Havesu-pai, or Avésu-pai, meaning the "down below people, or a tribe or race that live down in the cañon." "Páya, pái," being "all, people." They themselves claim to be descended from the Wolapai.

In Vol. III of the Pacific Railroad Reports, Whipple barely alludes to them. On page 80 of that work he states that "upon old Spanish

12: Cushing E-5 (1881) 1882
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

THE NATION OF The Willows.

II.

THE HOME OF THE NATION.

More than three hundred years ago, one of Coronado's lieutenants, at the head of a little band of soldiers, crossed, to the northward, the deserts beyond the province of Tusayan, and after many days came to the brink of a tremendous chasm, which the modern explorations of Major Powell have shown to be, in some places, more than a mile in depth. These Spanish adventurers were worn out with exertion, famished for want of water, and foot-sore, as nearly all of their animals had perished. They paused upon the brink, unable to descend, unable to slake their burning thirst in the waters of the river, which, as they described it, "though grand, looked like a thread of silver, so deep down was it." This river they named El Rio Tizon, but afterward it was called the Rio Colorado Grande, a name which it still retains.

The Nation of the Willows make their home in one of the side cañons of this great river, near the middle of the western half of the Grand Colorado Plateau, in the gorge of Cataract Creek, a natural cellar (if we may be permitted the comparison), half a mile in depth. That portion in which their village stands is only seven miles due south from the Grand Cañon, and about one hundred and fifteen, as the crow flies, north from Prescott, Arizona. A glance at any good map will convince the unversed reader that Cataract Creek Cañon is almost in the centre of an immense desert, — desert only because of the absence of perennial water, but covered by a grand growth of pines, piñons, cedars, and junipers, and by flowering plants and luxuriant grasses of many varieties.

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The Havasupai

133 The home of the Havasupai is in Cataract Cañon, a
[131] branch of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. Without question it is the strangest dwelling place of any tribe in America. In all the long leagues of the cañon's windings there is but one small spot where the gorge widens. Here is an amphitheatre. Its bottom has filled with earth, the weatherings of untold ages, and at the spot where the narrow rift begins to widen the blue water springs from the earth. The clean, clear cut, perpendicular walls of red sandstone tower four hundred feet toward the heavens, and back of these sheet walls are others, but broken, ragged, cut, cañoned, and tumbled into a wilderness of rock, ever mounting higher, until at the cañon's rim one is three thousand feet above the bottom of the chasm in which these people have their home. Standing on the edge and looking down into this bewildering gorge one sees many fanciful forms, fashioned through eons from the world or rock: castles, citadels, pyramids, pinnacles, and sphinx-like sculptures, tinted and mystified with the incomparable atmospheric coloring of the desert, and ever wrapped in death-like stillness. As he gazes there is nothing to suggest that half a mile below and twenty miles away, at the bottom of this awful gash, is a garden spot, and a village of humans.

[131] To reach this little oasis there are but two trails, and
487 he who selects one will wish he had taken the other; both follow routes chosen by prehistoric man. The sandalled feet of unknown generations toiled up and down these tortuous ways ages before there was need of making them accessible for beasts of burden. After hours of winding about sheer cliffs, down narrow gorges, patiently picking a /98/ way back and forth across crumbling rocky slopes, one reaches at last the home of the Havasupai. The floor
131 is half a mile wide, scarcely two miles long, and contains an
133 area of less than five hundred acres. The never-ending stream from which this small but picturesque tribe derives its name, (1)

101 1. The name Havasupai, "Blue Water People," is of Yuman origin, from aha',

/99 cont./
131 The inaccessibility of their cañon home has tended to keep them
177 immune from outside influences, so that in many ways their
life is still delightfully primitive. Their typical dwelling
342 consists of a framework covered with brush or tule and sometimes with an outer covering of earth. In summer a four-post brush shelter is erected, which affords protection from the sun and allows free circulation of air.

262 The agave plant, cut and prepared in much the same way as by the Apache, has always been an important article of food among these people. Other native vegetal foods are grass seeds
224 and piñon nuts. From time immemorial the Havasupai have
[321] been hunters. On the approach of winter they left the cañon for the upper levels, built wickiups of boughs and bark, and spent the cold season in hunting. Deer were the principal game, although they killed some mountain sheep and an occasional black
[251] bear. Much of the venison was cut in thin strips and dried for
237 summer use. Deerskin dressed by the Havasupai was considered
281 the best by all neighboring tribes; consequently, it not only
[439] furnished clothing, but was an important medium of barter. But the life of the Havasupai has changed. Game is scarce, and
177 224 the Government does not willingly grant them permission to
648 hunt on the surrounding mesas, hence there is little wonder that the wrinkled veterans long for the old days when game was plentiful and they hunted where they would. "Now all is changed," they say. "We cannot go out of the cañon without asking the white man. We dare not hunt deer, as the game must be saved for the Háiko. We are no longer men; we are like little children; we must always ask Washington!"

241 Corn is now their chief staple, besides which they raise
262 beans, squashes, melons, pumpkins, sunflowers, peaches, apricots,
171 and figs. They prepare corn in countless ways, corresponding
252 largely to those of the Hopi. In fact, the modes of preparing corn by all tribes of /100/ the Southwest are much the same. Much of the crop is allowed to ripen on the stalk; this is later ground into meal on the metate. Quantities of green corn are harvested, roasted in large pits with the husks on, and hung to dry. This may be ground or simply shelled and cooked, either alone or with beans, meat, and dried squash. Like the figs, their